

# THE CLIPPER : 1893 -1902.

## AN EXAMPLE OF RADICAL JOURNALISM .

BY: JOHN D SHIMMINS.

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for qualifying for the degree of Master of Arts.

University of Tasmania, Hobart, July 1996.

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# THE CLIPPER

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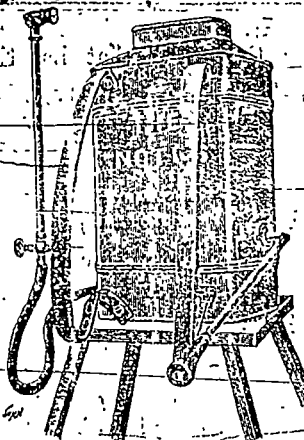
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If you are in want of really good BOOTS that you thoroughly depend upon

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no copy of material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

## ABSTRACT

James Paton founded the *Clipper* in April 1893 as a radical, socialist weekly newspaper through which he aimed to express his ideals and review life in Tasmania at the turn of the century. In his time as editor (which ran until the end of 1902), the *Clipper* included political commentary, and reported on social and sporting events. Study of the *Clipper* provides an insight into the lives and activities of Tasmanians, particularly those of the late nineteenth century working class. This bright, breezy paper was the first direct and successful appeal to the Tasmanian working class and was an important step towards creating a democratic self consciousness in the people.

## **CONTENTS**

	<u>PAGE</u>
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1: <i>The Clipper</i> 1893 -1902.	3
CHAPTER 2: <i>The Political Clipper</i> <i>The Clipper</i> and the Tasmanian Labor Party	11
CHAPTER 3: <i>The Clipper</i> and the Boer War	22
CHAPTER 4: Social Issues Health Education Women's Issues Advertising Racism Sport	29 35 38 43 46 50
CONCLUSION	53
BIBLIOGRAPHY	56

## INTRODUCTION

This dissertation studies the *Clipper* in its formative years from its foundation in April 1893 until December 1902, when there was a change of editorship from the paper's founder, James Paton, to Walter Woods.<sup>1</sup>

The primary aim of this dissertation is to examine the role of the *Clipper* in the formation and expression of public opinion on political, social and moral issues at the turn of the century in Tasmania. The *Clipper* was an appropriately timed vehicle for the expression of socialist ideals and concentrated on vital concerns about the 'lot' of the working class.

My contention about the purpose of the *Clipper*, and its ultimate reflection of the life and character of its founder, James Paton, is supported in this dissertation by the analysis of what in those days seemed newsworthy, whether it concerned political commentary, the reporting of social events, sports results, or even what shopkeepers needed to sell and the working class needed to buy.

Paton truly believed that editorial comment was able to influence not only the physical but intellectual and philosophical well-being of his readers. If one believes claims made for its circulation, it was widely distributed and read, with regional offices in the North and on the West Coast to provide news coverage as well as means of distribution. The *Clipper* saw its role as an educator. Its aim was to convert the people to a belief in the Labor cause. This aim determined the content which was

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<sup>1</sup> The history of the *Clipper* from 1902 to its demise in 1909 is extensively covered in: M.Lake, 'W.A.Woods and the *Clipper* 1903-1909'. Unpublished BA (Hons) thesis, University of Tasmania. 1968

almost entirely socialist.<sup>2</sup> The fact that an educationally limited Tasmanian working class was presumed capable of understanding and appreciating the literary style, with its use of metaphor, tells something about the degree of functional literacy achieved by public schooling in those days, because this made it possible to write in a style that was light-hearted, but full of earnest enthusiasm, optimism and metaphorical allusion. If this were not so, the suspicion that the editor's ideals may not have actually reached such a large audience is possible, although there is no evidence for this. I assume, as others have in the past, that the readership was capable of appreciating other items apart from the sports results and advertisements.

The motivation for much of the political comment was Paton's attitude to progress. His contention was that progress relied on socialism: without socialism it was impossible. It appears he interpreted progress as political change, the betterment of living conditions, and the general challenging of the apathy he found so distasteful in Tasmanian life.

This thesis reviews Paton and the paper during the period of his stewardship, the role of the *Clipper* in the early development of the Tasmanian Labor Party, its opposition to the Boer War, its commentary on Tasmanian health and education and sporting activities.

The excellence of the *Clipper* was its ability to show 'the Importance of Being Earnest in a most pleasant way'.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> M.Lake, op cit, p9.

<sup>3</sup> M.Lake, op cit, p17.

## CHAPTER 1

### THE CLIPPER 1893 -1902

The *Clipper* was established as a radical journal by James Paton and its first issue appeared on the streets of Hobart in April 1893. Seemingly modelled on the Sydney *Bulletin* with its pages of radical comment enclosed within a bright red cover, it was a weekly appearing each Saturday, selling for 1 penny per copy, or for an annual subscription of 4/- (delivered) (see Insert). The paper is described in the *Cyclopaedia of Tasmania*,<sup>1</sup> thus: 'The *Clipper* which is published at the *Clipper Chambers*, Hobart, is one of the most unique of the many bright and well written topical journals published in Australia; and its large circulation and beneficial influence upon the politics and social life of the island state testifies alike to its popularity and standing. ....the crisp and cynical paper takes the motto:

'Whate'er men say, or do, or think or dream,

Our motley paper seizes for its theme'. (see Frontespiece)

In politics the paper, while avoiding being tied to parties or individuals, supports the Liberals and Progressives. Through its advocacy of social democracy it is looked upon as the labour organ of Tasmania, although, unlike its Australian contemporaries, the *Clipper* receives no subsidies....the *Clipper's* infinite jest and humour is as popular in the homestead of the squatter or the mansion of the merchant as in the cottage of the artisan or the hut of the miner.'

Its policy was tinged with Christian socialism, its views were left wing. The social philosophy of the *Clipper* is important, for while its sentiments found little public echo in other quarters, (particularly in the *Mercury*, the conservative major Hobart daily), the paper's social awareness gave it a

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<sup>1</sup> *Cyclopaedia of Tasmania*, 1900. Hobart, 1900. p293.



# The Clipper.

THE WIDEST AND LARGEST CIRCULATION IN TASMANIA.

The Clipper  
8 February 1896.

*All Classes Read The Clipper.*

The POLITICIAN must read a political paper.

The CONSERVATIVE reads it because it is newsy and racy.

The LIBERAL reads it to learn what the people think.

The DEMOCRAT because it truly represents him.

The SPORTSMAN acknowledges that it is his favorite paper.

The LADIES delight in its quaintness and clackery.

The GENERAL READER swears by THE CLIPPER, as the only readable paper in Tasmania.

Delivered by runners to ALL PARTS of Hobart and Launceston.

**PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY  
MORNING.**

It is the Biggest Pennyworth of Reading printed in Tasmania.

SUBSCRIPTION:  
4s. PER ANNUM. 4s.

The BEST Advertising Medium.  
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**NOW IS THE TIME TO MAKE  
YOUR YEARLY CONTRACTS.**

completely different view of conventional values.<sup>2</sup> It was in its role as 'devil's advocate', irreverently mocking 'society' and other dignitaries that the *Clipper* derived strongest support,<sup>3</sup> appealing to a populism, born as much of an Australian attitude of apathy and indifference and distrust of pretension than of any deeper social concern.<sup>4</sup> Australians liked to see 'tall poppies' cut down to size.

In its lifetime, the *Clipper* had two editors, James Paton and Walter Woods. This dissertation is confined to the years of Paton's editorship from the paper's inception in 1893 to 1902.<sup>5</sup> James Paton, the original editor and proprietor was born in Sydney on 19 June 1861. Some years later the Paton family emigrated to Bowen, North Queensland. In 1874 he was indentured to Messrs. Aikenhead and Button of the Launceston *Examiner*. After completing his apprenticeship, Paton returned to the mainland and gained experience on the staff of daily newspapers in Sydney and Melbourne, before coming back to Tasmania to start the *Clipper*.<sup>6</sup>

The origin of Paton's strong socialist outlook remains unknown, but his expressed attitudes guaranteed that the history of the *Clipper* under his editorship was, to say the least, stormy. A paper so radical and yet so awkwardly adolescent in the expression of its editorial views invited reaction and libel suits and got them. In 1896 Paton paid £500 in damages; in 1902 criticism of a minister, E. Mulcahy, cost him a further £600 for libel. Faced with such a debt James Paton was unable to continue as editor, a position he surrendered to Woods.

Throughout its history, the *Clipper* and the *Mercury* remained bitterly opposed on social issues. The paper did not fear to espouse unpopular causes, the most notable of which was its continued vehement

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<sup>2</sup> S.G. Alomes, 'Island, Nation and Empire: Aspects of the Colonial Experience, Hobart, 1899-1902'. Unpublished BA (Hons) thesis, University of Tasmania. 1973. p6.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> The history of the *Clipper* from 1902 to its demise in 1909 is extensively covered in: M.L. Lake, 'W.A. Woods and the *Clipper* 1903-1909', Unpublished BA(Hons) thesis, University of Tasmania. 1968.

<sup>6</sup> *Cyclopaedia of Tasmania*, *op cit*, p 294.

opposition to Jingoists and the Boer War. Paton and the *Clipper* continually attacked the Government of the day on political and social issues, abhorring what it called 'the fossilised politics of Tasmania and a Parliament which it claimed represented 'guinea pigs, landlords, bricks and mortar, lawyer sharks, everything but labour and humanity'.<sup>7</sup> Paton obviously felt political power in Tasmania was being used to benefit an elite minority, and was prepared for the obvious antipathy which would greet such statements. Apart from the libel cases, other obstacles were placed in the *Clipper's* path. For example, in 1895 the *Clipper* was boycotted in the matter of railway passes, which were issued to journalists from the major papers. In 1893/4 the value of such passes was: *Mercury* £510, *Tasmanian News* £309, *Zeehan and Dundas Herald* £13. Requests from the *Clipper* were always rejected.<sup>8</sup>

Problems experienced by the *Clipper* were outlined in its 'Manifesto for an Independent Press'.<sup>9</sup> (see insert). Readers were asked to take note that an independent press was very necessary if Tasmania was to prosper. In the past, government influence on the press had been too great, leading to 'a reptile press of the most pernicious character'.<sup>10</sup> Paton claimed that as an independent paper the *Clipper* was pledged to expose maladministration, along with its accompanying 'trickery and fraud', besides 'providing amusement for the people because its 'higher' mission was to demand 'Justice and Truth'. The existing political parties showed their reaction to the aims of the *Clipper* by a discriminating bill limiting the advertisement of certain notices to the daily papers, thus depriving the *Clipper* of a source of revenue, with an intention to eliminate an outspoken critic. Tasmanians could support the 'free press' by patronising the various business people advertising in the paper, because through these advertisements the *Clipper* was able to remain financially viable. In a rather exaggerated statement at the end of the manifesto Paton claimed that his independent press was a superior advertising medium when compared to a 'press subsidised by

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<sup>7</sup> *Clipper* 22 July 1899.

<sup>8</sup> *Clipper* 27 July 1895.

<sup>9</sup> *Clipper* 22 September 1894.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*

TO THE MAIN LISTS FOR AN INDEPENDENT PRESS.  
READERS OF THE CLIPPER  
TAKE NOTE.

1. If Tasmania is to prosper it is necessary that there should be an independent press.
2. In the past the press of Tasmania have been little better than the hirelings of the Government of the day, even if nominally supporting the Opposition the daily papers do their best to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds; Tasmania has therefore had a reptile press of the most pernicious character.
3. THE CLIPPER is an independent paper, pledged to expose trickery, fraud, and mal-administration, and to do its utmost in conserving the rights of the people and promoting Forward Legislation. Besides being a paper to furnish amusement for the people it has the higher mission of Demanding Justice and Truth.
4. The existing political parties recognise the mission of the CLIPPER, and that it is an enemy to their paltry political existence.
5. Tasmanians recognise that this colony cannot prosper so long as these so-called parties continue to quarrel office and pay. Until new men and new methods are found the tax gatherers will be robbing thrift, industry, and commerce.
6. Instigated by certain interested proprietors the Government sneaked a measure through Parliament in the last days of the session just closed, called "A Bill to make better provision for the publication of certain notices and advertisements required by law to be published." The bill was introduced by the Premier into the House of Assembly without notice and rushed through all stages without members understanding its object.
7. By this bill certain advertisements that were appearing in THE CLIPPER under contract with solicitors have now to go to the daily press, and THE CLIPPER is deprived of a source of revenue and a monopoly given to papers with less than half its circulation at the earnest request of their proprietors.
8. Is this not a direct act of conspiracy on the part of the Government, as well as a contemptible specimen of pettifoggish legislation?
9. Ever since The Clipper put down its platform there has been a combined effort to crush it and a certain small section have used their utmost endeavour to boycott the paper, but have only succeeded in booming it.
10. It should be the first endeavour on the part of a FREE PEOPLE to UPHOLD FREEDOM OF SPEECH.
11. TO ASSIST THE CLIPPER is to PATRONISE THE VARIOUS BUSINESS PEOPLE who advertise in THE CLIPPER.
12. It is only by advertisements that a paper can pay in Tasmania, therefore encourage advertisers in The Clipper so that the paper may flourish.
13. By following out this simple rule not only will our readers be in pocket, for the most part, pushing men of business in Hobart, and therefore the cheapest, recognise The Clipper as the best advertising medium, but they will be indirectly subsidising an independent press as against a press subsidised by government advertisements and influence to connive at the utmost indecency and immorality in politics and truckling to party.

Clipper

22 September 1894.

government advertisements and influence to connive at the utmost indecency and immorality in politics',<sup>11</sup>

James Paton was an active political candidate in elections held during the 1890's. The attitudes expressed in his election speeches foreshadowed and supported those ideas to which he gave such forceful expression in the *Clipper*. Paton equated the adoption of the Socialist system with progress.<sup>12</sup> This was contrary to attitudes prevailing among other leading Hobartians of the day. J.B.Walker in his diary in 1895 comments: 'socialism, which, with its noble ideas of universal benevolence, is singularly blind to what is practically attainable. It decreases the luxury of the rich, quite oblivious to the fact, that if all their luxury was divided among the poor, it would hardly appreciably improve their condition'.<sup>13</sup> In Paton's view a nation faced ruin if socialism was repudiated. The *Clipper's* self conscious role was that of an educator of the people. As a paper presenting an alternative view, it saw its vital objective to be that of ultimately converting people to a belief in the Labor cause. It claimed, unlike others, to be democratic and broad minded. An 1896 editorial of Paton's reads: 'a few men yet live in Tasmania whose cranial development will only permit them to read the *London Times*, *Australasian*, *Argus*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, and that horrid literary phycis, the *Mercury*. They are afraid that their narrow heads would burst were they to read a democratic journal. These poor calomel poisoned creatures are such cads that they neither understand nor dare read such a paper as the *Clipper*'.<sup>14</sup>

The *Clipper* made a serious effort towards fostering and promoting literary talent in the island. Book reviews were common. Among the works reviewed there was a diverse range. Titles included: '*Omar Khayyam*',<sup>15</sup> Rolf Boldrewood's '*Plain Living*',<sup>16</sup> Christopher Marlowe's

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<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Clipper* 24 July 1897

<sup>13</sup> P.B.Walker, '*Prelude to Federation (1884-1898)*', OBM, Hobart, 1976. p92

<sup>14</sup> *Clipper* 18 April 1896.

<sup>15</sup> *Clipper* 9 March 1901.

<sup>16</sup> *Clipper* 14 May 1898.

works,<sup>17</sup> 'Letters of Thomas Huxley',<sup>18</sup> and the more radical 'Crime and Sex' by Havelock Ellis.<sup>19</sup> The paper ran regular literary competitions including one to write a quatrain celebrating Tasmania's centenary. There were many entries but the standard was low - the winning entry of 1899 reading:

'When fern unfolded runnels steal through the moss  
And silence till they catch the torrent's song  
Australia's lovely sister binds with floss  
Sweet flowers for Progress who has tarried long'.<sup>20</sup>

The entries commonly described Tasmania in exaggerated terms as 'Australia's jewel', 'Southern Venus'.<sup>21</sup>

The *Clipper's* style of writing could be termed 'quaint'<sup>22</sup>, with its use of succinct quotations as a form of propaganda and doggerel of a suitably low standard. This quaintness was intended to delight the ladies but probably had universal appeal to a reading public already used to, and appreciative of, this style of journalism. People were used to reading equivalent styles in for example, the *Bulletin* and the *Tocsin*. The *Clipper* took liberties with the Queen's English and often coined words such as 'the Bootjack Press' (the *Mercury*),<sup>23</sup> 'Copperopolis' for Queenstown.<sup>24</sup> It was eclectic in gathering its material which both contributed to the policy of the paper and provoked debate. The topics generally discussed were contemporary Australian issues, although most editorial space was devoted to a diagnosis of Tasmania's problems. This is highlighted by the fact that Federation, a major issue of the time, received less editorial space than may have been expected. Paton was a Federalist<sup>25</sup> and believed 'one great advantage that the people of Tasmania can hope to gain from Federation....is that the

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<sup>17</sup> *Clipper* 23 March 1901.

<sup>18</sup> *Clipper* 30 March 1901.

<sup>19</sup> *Clipper* 2 January 1889.

<sup>20</sup> *Clipper* 18 April 1899.

<sup>21</sup> *Clipper* 8 July 1899.

<sup>22</sup> M. Roe, pers. comm. February, 1996.

<sup>23</sup> *Clipper* 27 January 1900.

<sup>24</sup> *Clipper* 8 July 1899.

<sup>25</sup> *Cyclopaedia of Tasmania*, op cit, p293.

littleness of the place will be done away with....and we can look forward with more hope to a more just administration of the laws'<sup>26</sup> .However Paton had some doubts about its value to Tasmania. These largely centred about Tasmania's future financial situation in a federated Australia. He believed 'a financial crisis could be a sequel to Federation....and there would be migration of population to other states'.<sup>27</sup>

Financially, the years 1893-1902 were not easy ones for a publication like the *Clipper* . Its income depended mainly on advertising, although the lucrative business of government advertisements was denied it.<sup>28</sup> Some major Tasmanian retailers advertised regularly, and perusal of these pages gives an insight into fashions and 'consumables' of the age. Paton and Woods also had other diverse business enterprises. They acted as wholesale agents for various pharmaceutical products, such as 'Lock's Infallible Salve and Rheumalgic'.<sup>29</sup> Together Woods and Paton conducted the 'Infallible Remedy Company'.<sup>30</sup> In 1900 the *Clipper* announced 'a Tasmanian agency at Stanley Chambers, 347 Pitt Street, Sydney....to promote and advertise Tasmania among mainlanders wanting a cool place to holiday in'.<sup>31</sup> Yet despite his promotion of a Tasmanian agency, Paton found it necessary to comment : 'tourists are not given to distributing largesse and....demand a great deal more than they are either willing or able to pay for'.<sup>32</sup>

The *Clipper* was full of lively comment and good humour. At least four columns a week were devoted to jokes, riddles and anecdote, with wit and humour being guaranteed. Without sacrificing its earnest convictions or turning to buffoonery it mixed serious and lighthearted comment,<sup>33</sup> appropriate to the dissemination of ideas in a milieu dominated by

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<sup>26</sup> *Clipper* 11 January 1896.

<sup>27</sup> *Clipper* 29 September 1899.

<sup>28</sup> See 'Manifesto for a Free Press', *Clipper*, 22 September 1894

<sup>29</sup> M.Lake, op cit, p5

<sup>30</sup> ibid

<sup>31</sup> *Clipper* 22 December 1900.

<sup>32</sup> *Clipper* 11 January 1902.

<sup>33</sup> *Clipper* 18 February 1905.

Victorian attitudes. Tasmania at the turn of the century accepted Victorian values, including the acceptance of presumed social divisions.<sup>34</sup> The *Clipper* saw the real evil to be the smugness and indifference of those who lived their respectable lives oblivious to the suffering of the poor and the 'sweated'.<sup>35</sup> The *Cyclopaedia of Tasmania* admitted 'there was some poverty in our midst as in every other large aggregation of human beings'.<sup>36</sup>

The last decade of the nineteenth century saw the Tasmanian economy in a depressed state. The poorly managed Bank of Van Dieman's Land collapsed at the end of 1891, leaving some customers and investors hard hit, and 'a strong whiff of corruption and double-dealing hung over the proceedings'.<sup>37</sup> George Adams came from the mainland to organise a sweep aimed at redressing the balance. The idea was partly successful, but was firmly opposed by many Tasmanians, already suffering because of the Australia-wide 1890's economic depression. Lively discussion at the time was engendered in debate about the 'deserving' or 'undeserving' poor. It seemed obvious to people of Paton's political persuasion that 'liberalism was unable to cope with the victims of capitalism'.<sup>38</sup> His comments on sweated labour and retrenchment,<sup>39</sup> the need of the capitalists to get more work for less pay, show clearly that his feelings about the health of the Tasmanian social and political scene were at variance with his appreciation of the state's visual beauty. 'Tasmania is a small island dotted over with beauty spots ; but its normal social atmosphere is an intense gloom which permeates into things and makes life sad. Nothing thrives!'<sup>40</sup> Paton wanted to lift the gloom and challenge the apathy he perceived around him. And one way to achieve this was through the implementation of his perception of progress.

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<sup>34</sup> S.G. Alomes, op cit, p5.

<sup>35</sup> *Clipper* 9 June 1899.

<sup>36</sup> *Cyclopaedia of Tasmania* op cit, p218.

<sup>37</sup> L.L. Robson, 'A History of Tasmania', Volume 2, OUP, Melbourne, 1991 p175.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid*, p 184.

<sup>39</sup> *Clipper* 20 May 1893.

<sup>40</sup> *Clipper* 21 September 1895.



In common with others of his age Paton shared the view that so long as institutions are vital, they possess capacity for good. When they lose vitality they stultify and cripple public action. Yet, if people have vested interests in them or simply support them because it is an easy and comfortable thing to do, then out-of-date institutions will linger even if they do not prosper. The Victorian belief was that all progress was a natural force which people did not need to control or even initiate, that it just happened. Paton's view was that progress meant change which must be initiated and given direction. Socialism would supply the impetus and implement the changes. This is why he saw Tasmania as bankrupt, in a state of depression.<sup>41</sup> He would not accept that this state of affairs could be remedied by the lottery instigated to recover assets lost by the collapse of the VDL Bank. He considered this to be 'a menace to the liberty of the people'.<sup>42</sup> Paton's view was that responsible people initiated changes and gave it direction, whereas in this case the Tasmanian government was prepared to allow exactly the opposite to happen by promoting a gamble.

'The *Clipper* saw Tasmania as only having reached a stage in evolution somewhere between feudalism and wage slavery.....for the *Clipper* the villains of the piece, the pernicious legislators, were the Legislative Councillors of 'the House of Dodery'. These men were seen to represent the 'Land Monopolists' or 'Land Sharks' and formed 'the clique who governed Tasmania'.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> *ibid*

<sup>42</sup> *Clipper* 15 June 1901.

For details of Tattersall's lotteries ; prizes, costs etc. see , for example, *Clipper* 8 February 1896.

<sup>43</sup> M. Lake, *op cit*, p19.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE POLITICAL *CLIPPER*

#### THE *CLIPPER* AND THE TASMANIAN LABOR PARTY

In the years that followed independence during the latter half of the nineteenth century, Tasmania stagnated economically and socially. Agricultural and pastoral expansion was limited due to lack of land and there were few industries to encourage prosperity. Tasmania was modelled on Britain; its bicameral parliament had a conservative upper house with a restricted male electorate and a lower house elected by a wider male franchise. Conservative governments were elected, reflecting the general feeling that Tasmania was a peaceful, conservative society. Alexander believes 'the main effect of the convict past was a striving for respectability, to dissociate oneself from any taint of convictism and in the second half of the nineteenth century Tasmania was one of the most respectable and law abiding societies in the western world'.<sup>1</sup> But as Townsley points out, 'there was a sordid side; there were plenty of fortune hunters, confidence tricksters and prostitutes exploiting the population.'<sup>2</sup> This general quietness and lack of prosperity earned Tasmania the sobriquet 'Sleepy Hollow' ; a state where there was limited intellectual and cultural stimulation, little development to challenge pro-British sentiment and from where the more active Tasmanians left for the mainland or Britain.

During this time there was economic change. The West Coast mineral discoveries of the 1870's and 1880's brought some prosperity although this was largely confined to the coast. From the

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<sup>1</sup> A.Alexander, 'The Public Role of Women 1803-1914'. unpublished PhD thesis, University of Tasmania, Hobart, 1989. p1a.

<sup>2</sup> W.A. Townsley, '*Tasmania: From Colony to Statehood 1803-1945*'. St Davids Park Publishing, Hobart, 1991. p 208.

1850's to 1914 the middle classes were supreme in Tasmania, ruling a respectable, moderately comfortable society in a conservative fashion - a society more akin to pre-industrial England than to the contemporary society there.<sup>3</sup>

Davis too attributes the lethargy and inertia of Tasmanians in the nineteenth century to a convict legacy.<sup>4</sup> As a result the working classes tended to 'lack spirit and resolution'<sup>5</sup> Davis believes this phenomenon may have been partly to an inherited convict servility and partly to the more rapid development of other colonies. (As an example energetic and capable Tasmanians were drawn to the gold rush in Victoria in the 1850's and later in the century to New Zealand.) It is believed<sup>6</sup> that this massive emigration from Tasmania in the fifty years before 1919 kept wages low. The rural working class was a timid conservative force (in contrast to shearers in Queensland), virtually impervious to union organisation. As an example, in attempts to establish trade unions amongst the timber workers in the Huon Valley, strong resistance was encountered as it was felt 'union involvement would lead to nothing but trouble. There was a fierce loyalty, but isolation and parochialism had also led to a widespread distrust of anything or anyone unfamiliar'.<sup>7</sup> In the cities the almost total absence of a factory system and the general apathy were factors that helped inhibit the development of Labor until well after the turn of the century: the *Clipper*, with its Christian socialist or Henry Georgian policy<sup>8</sup> fought against such negative attitudes. In the 1890's Tasmania was 'a stable society, not particularly well educated, certainly not politically conscious'.<sup>9</sup> J. B. Walker in his diary noted 'the worst feature of Tasmanian politics is the absence of public spirit and policies. Each man is working for his private

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<sup>3</sup> . A. Alexander, op cit, p1b.

<sup>4</sup> R.P.Davis in D J.Murphy (ed), *Labor in Politics: the state of Labor Parties in Australia 1880-1920*, UQP, Brisbane, 1975. p389--390.

<sup>5</sup> ibid p 389/390,

<sup>6</sup> ibid.

<sup>7</sup> C.Watson, *'Full and Plenty : an oral history in the Huon Valley*, Twelvetrees Publishing Company, Hobart, 1987. p3.

<sup>8</sup> R.P.Davis, op cit p389//390.

<sup>9</sup> W. A. Townsley, op cit, p225.

advantage or personal reasons'.<sup>10</sup>

There were other factors retarding the development of Tasmanian Labor. The island lacked a single dominant nucleus. Launceston refused to yield supremacy to Hobart; the west coast, the obvious area of organised Labor, was geographically and commercially isolated from the capital. However it would be exaggerating to claim there was no significant unionism in Tasmania before 1900. McRae notes that between 1892 and 1901 at least six organisations were formed in Tasmania in an attempt to provide Labor representation in Parliament and the effective organisation of labour.<sup>11</sup> Most of these quickly collapsed. By 1893, at the time of the launching of the *Clipper*, only the Hobart Electoral Reform League remained and it was faced by unwanted competition from the recently inaugurated Workers Political Association<sup>12</sup>. This body was sponsored by the Hobart Trades and Labour Council, who with the Reform League, attempted to organise the unemployed in Hobart and to represent their needs to the government. But despite publicity from the *Clipper*, divisions in the organisation mitigated against effective work.<sup>13</sup> The League lobbied the radical member for North Hobart Col. St.Hill for electoral reforms. In December 1893 the Reform League nominated James Hall for North Hobart in the general elections for the House of Assembly<sup>14</sup>. Both Hall and St.Hill, (the latter given support by the League) were defeated; one of the reasons for failure being the personal enmity between the two candidates. The failure of the Labor men in Hobart resulted in the collapse of the Electoral Reform League. To overcome this setback a new league was formed in Hobart on 14 July 1894 - the Liberal and Labour Political League<sup>15</sup>. The chief initiator was a radical Anglican parson, Alec Turnbull,

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<sup>10</sup> P.B. Walker (ed), *'Prelude to Federation (1884-1898)'*, OBM, Hobart, 1976. p116.

<sup>11</sup> M.D.McRae, 'Some Aspects of the Origins of the Tasmanian Labor Party', *THRAP&P*, 3(2) April, 1954. p23.

<sup>12</sup> *Clipper*, 13 May 1893.

<sup>13</sup> *Clipper*, 3 June 1893.

<sup>14</sup> *Clipper*, 21 October 1893.

<sup>15</sup> *Clipper*, 21 July 1894.

under whose vigorous leadership frequent meetings were held with support from the *Clipper*. By June 1895 the League had over 600 members<sup>16</sup>. Despite the progress, weaknesses soon appeared. Turnbull became involved in a very bitter and protracted quarrel with the Anglican authorities. By early 1896, the Liberal and Labour Political League was a spent force with the early gains and great promise remaining unfulfilled.<sup>17</sup> The *Clipper* became increasingly critical and in April Paton called 'a meeting of democrats and trade unionists in order to organise for the Federal Convention and colonial elections'.<sup>18</sup> The name adopted by the new group was the Democratic Club, later to be renamed the Democratic League. This league endorsed James Paton as the candidate for North Hobart, and R. W. Smith, another journalist, for Launceston. The elections, held in January 1897, the first under the Hare-Clark system for city electorates, resulted in the return of Smith and the defeat of Paton. In Hobart, the Labour vote was badly split, although Paton believed his defeat was due in part to the Hare-Clark system (of which he became a trenchant opponent).

One of the most significant issues debated in Tasmania in the 1890's was the amendments to the Constitution Act. As part of this act A.I.Clark introduced a bill which sought to provide for the representation of minorities by a new scheme of 'proportional representation' based on the Hare system. The bill provided that the colony be divided into equal electoral divisions and that a seat be allocated to each complete quota of votes in each division, the quota being ascertained by a formula.<sup>19</sup> The bill was introduced by Clark at the fourth attempt in 1896. The *Clipper* was a vehement opponent of the legislation, stating it 'to be a fraud',<sup>20</sup> 'a most complicated invention especially designed to destroy the possibility of the people giving a direct mandate to the Parliament; but skilfully engages to

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<sup>16</sup> McRae, op cit, p24.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>18</sup> *Clipper*, 18 April 1896.

<sup>19</sup> L.Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, Volume 2, OUP, Melbourne, 1991. p180.

<sup>20</sup> *Clipper*, 1 August 1896.

provide for the representation of every clique, which being of a given numerical strength has cunning or cohesiveness to plump straight for their man'.<sup>21</sup> In the *Clipper's* opinion 'the Hare system saps at the existing constitution of Parliament, which is based upon party government, such parties being designed to act as executive machinery for carrying out the wills of the two or more sections of political thought that may claim the allegiance of the people'.<sup>22</sup> Further, 'the Hare system is no patent specific; it isn't an incubator of reform, and it won't wash dirty linen. It is only electoral machinery'.<sup>23</sup> Throughout its life the *Clipper* remained a trenchant denouncer of this voting system.

It is difficult to ascertain specific details of Paton's objections to the Hare Clark system. An analysis of the results of voting in the trial election of 1897 would indicate that the Hare Clark system *per se* was not the cause of Paton's election failure - he simply did not get enough votes.<sup>24</sup> The results indicate support for socialist candidates was insufficient for any advantage of block voting (a feature of the Hare Clark system) to be effected. In his editorials Paton was relatively sympathetic to the bourgeois ideals of A.I.Clark. It would appear that at the first election in 1897 the possibilities of the system were not appreciated. The electors voted on the old lines.<sup>25</sup>

It is interesting to consider the *Clipper's* views on this uniquely Tasmanian system of voting, particularly in view of the consequent effects of the system on Tasmanian politics and government. As a result of the system Tasmania has had a number of 'hung' parliaments and 'it has at times appeared to reduce parliamentary government in Tasmania to a farce'.<sup>26</sup> A significant consequence of this system is the enablement of the Conservation movement (the

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<sup>21</sup> *Clipper*, 25 July 1896.

<sup>22</sup> *Clipper* 15 August 1896

<sup>23</sup> *Clipper* 8 July 1899.

<sup>24</sup> T.Newman, *Hare Clark in Tasmania*, Joint Library Committee of the Parliament of Tasmania, Hobart, 1992. p51.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid*, p52.

<sup>26</sup> L.Robson, *op cit*, p532.

Greens) to gain parliamentary 'clout' in contrast to similar minority parties elsewhere in the world.<sup>27</sup>

In March 1898, Tasmanian Labor was given a greatly needed fillip by the visit of the radical English firebrand, Ben Tillett. Tillett was a prominent leader of the London waterfront strike of 1889. He visited New Zealand and Australia in 1898 to recuperate from ill health. Whilst on this convalescent visit he lectured in both countries, promulgating Labor party ideas. <sup>28</sup> Paton and Woods were sponsors of this visit which was highly significant for socialism and the future of Labor party promotion. In large feature articles in the *Clipper*, Tillett gave his views on Tasmania, its future, its deficiencies, its needs and on socialism in general, and it is significant to reflect on these views as they greatly coloured and affected the future journalistic and political endeavours of Paton and Woods. Study of the paper indicates a turning point in the style and outlook in 1898. Not only were Tillett's views embraced but the influence of Woods who joined the paper in 1897, became clearly evident.

Tillett saw Tasmania as a 'bitter example of history'.<sup>29</sup> 'Hobart is a beautiful freak of nature wasted on a nation ashamed of its history and afraid to improve it'.<sup>30</sup> 'Tasmania has a lovely climate, splendid mineral resources, exceptional development opportunities but there is no encouragement in a country owned by a few men whose small brains and smaller souls render the worker as an equal of a convict only'.<sup>31</sup> 'The horrible part about [Tasmania] is that Tasmanians still take a gruesome interest in keeping relics of the old days - chains, leg irons, handcuffs, great iron weights, a cat-o'-nine tails, stocks and other means of torture'.<sup>32</sup> 'These mementos were degrading in that they reinforced an image of servitude and debasement still evident in

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<sup>27</sup> P.Hay, *Ecopolitical Theory*, Board of Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania, Hobart. 1992. p163 (note 3).

<sup>28</sup> Ben Tillett, *Memoirs and Reflections*, John Long, London, 1931.

<sup>29</sup> *Clipper*, 3 September 1898.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid*

<sup>31</sup> *ibid*

<sup>32</sup> *ibid*

some of the attitudes prevailing in the working classes'.<sup>33</sup> 'There is no municipal enterprise....the municipal aldermen are so tired they have to lean against a wall to put their spectacles on'. '[Tasmania] is a hundred years behind the old country in municipal and state questions. My visit was the occasion for a scream of lies and the misrepresentation of socialism'.<sup>34</sup> In this respect Tillett was advised by the *Mercury* to get a bomb proof suit of armour before venturing near Tasmania.<sup>35</sup> Tillett was appalled by the working conditions of Tasmanians. He commented: 'In the cities of Tasmania men are working in shops for mere feed, being a wage of less than 10/- per week. Girls and even women work for 2/6 to 5/- per week. In one case of a pious Wesleyan, a girl for being ill one afternoon and having to go home had 5d deducted from her wage by her noble employer. Labourers are grafting for 10/- a week, a skilled mechanic down as low as 5d and 6d an hour'.<sup>36</sup> Tillett summarised his views by writing: '[Tasmania] has a shameful education system which panders to a degraded denominationalisation, fills our gaols and disfigures our statistical registers with the sign of the cross, in the form of John Smith his X mark....by the reeking slums where children die and the lords of the land grow fat; by the fact that beneath the shadows of our fashionable churches, women and girls ply a shameful trade; our legalised gambling halls; our writhing, crawling, bloodsucking brigade of legal leeches; by the pitying smiles of our visitors - it is enough for us to point to these and assert that Tasmania is dishonestly undemocratic and poor and degraded because of that fact'.<sup>37</sup> These ills so clearly expressed by Tillett were to become the cornerstones of the *Clipper's* future policies on reform and editorial comment.

Woods' influence became stronger. He had a strong socialist background. Born in Melbourne in 1863, as a young man he divided

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<sup>33</sup> *ibid*

<sup>34</sup> *ibid*

<sup>35</sup> cited in *Clipper* 11 September 1897.

<sup>36</sup> *Clipper*, 19 February 1898.

<sup>37</sup> *Clipper* 16 February 1899.



his time between shearing in the Riverina district of New South Wales, trade union organising and journalism (c.f. Paton's local Tasmanian training as a journalist). He had established a paper in Wagga, *The Hammer*. Later he was prominent in William Lane's New Australia movement and edited the associated journal *New Australia* in 1893. He was a close friend of Mary Gilmore and acted as secretary to the New Australia movement until the foundation of the Cosme settlement in 1895. For a short time (1896) he ran a radical paper in Launceston, *The Tasmanian Democrat*.<sup>38</sup> Woods was more oriented to unionism than Paton and saw union formation and the removal of the Legislative Council and New Protection and Arbitration as palliatives for social reform.<sup>39</sup> The more moderate Paton concerned himself primarily with social reforms. The *Clipper* saw Tasmania as the poorest, most ignorant state in the Commonwealth. Its people got the smallest wages, spent the least and saved the least of any Australians. Young Tasmanians often had to leave their home state to make a decent living.<sup>40</sup>

Paton was again endorsed by the Democratic League to contest a by-election for the Hobart seat in February 1899. At the election Paton did well to poll 578 votes compared to the leading candidate Propsting's vote of 810.<sup>41</sup> It was estimated that Propsting had spent £700 and Paton £15 on the campaign.<sup>42</sup> Paton remarked on the disgraceful state of the electoral rolls. 'Hundreds were left off who should be on, some were on more than once, and the whole unalphabetical arrangement was a magnificent monument to somebody's incapacity'.<sup>43</sup> The *Clipper* was ultimately able by active campaigning to force changes in the keeping of the rolls.<sup>44</sup> The League was heartened with the result, the Labor party had

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<sup>38</sup> M.Lake, 'W A.Woods and the *Clipper*, 1903-1909', unpublished BA(Hons) thesis, University of Tasmania, 1968. Chapter 1.

<sup>39</sup> M.Lake, Hons thesis, op cit, passim.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>41</sup> *Clipper* 16 February 1899.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>43</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>44</sup> *Clipper* 3 February 1900.

quadrupled in two years and great expectations were entertained for the elections of 1900 <sup>45</sup>.

Paton announced the Democratic League's policy in 1900,<sup>46</sup> its main platforms being:

1. Constitutional reform in state franchises to be the same as for the Commonwealth.
2. Adequate payment for members.
3. State old age pensions.
4. Free education.
5. Minimum wages.
6. Factory and shop legislation.
7. Municipal reform including revision of boundaries.
8. An arbitration and conciliation act.

McRae notes that earlier platforms such as one man one vote, abolition of the property qualification, an eight hour day and the like were maintained. <sup>47</sup>

However, hopes for electoral victory were largely destroyed as a result of issues raised by the Boer war. As editor of the *Clipper* Paton opposed the jingo spirit of the *Mercury*. In January 1900 W. A. Holman was invited to lecture in Hobart on the subject "The Labor Movement and Militarism".<sup>48</sup> After subsequent criticism and disturbances related to this meeting Paton found it immensely difficult to hold further meetings. The disruption to Holman's speech was effectively organised and the Democratic League decided to withdraw Paton as a candidate. <sup>49</sup> During 1901 and 1902 political Labor activity in Hobart was negligible. Meanwhile, whilst the Democratic League had lost its vigour, the West Coast remained active and Tasmanian leadership came from this district via their organisation, the Tasmanian Workers Political League. Despite the

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<sup>45</sup> *Clipper* 13 January 1900.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid*

<sup>47</sup> M.D. McRae, *op cit*, p24.

<sup>48</sup> *Clipper* 20 January 1900.

<sup>49</sup> *Clipper* 9 March 1900.

*Clipper's* disparaging remarks that he was not a true Tasmanian, King O'Malley became a dominant Labor figure and in McRae's view it was the foundation of this body which was the real foundation of the Tasmanian Labor Party<sup>50</sup> Alternatively it can be posited that the increasing activities of future Labor leaders based in Hobart such as E. Dwyer Gray (editor of the *Clipper's* successor *The Daily Post*), Lyons (who took part in the revolt against Neale's New Education measures), Cosgrove and Woods himself, led the way. O'Malley was essentially Melbourne based although representing a Tasmanian electorate. Paton and the *Clipper* continued to preach the need for better organisation until the transference of ownership to Woods in 1902.

Woods gave new life and look to the newspaper and took over the leadership in the organisation of Hobart Labor.<sup>51 52</sup> Labor received a fillip in early 1903 from a visit of the militant English socialist associate of Ben Tillett, Tom Mann.<sup>53</sup> Considerable support was given by the new Anglican bishop, J.E.Mercer, who was determined to support the rights of labour.<sup>54</sup>

Woods was to have a long career in Tasmanian politics. More than any other Labor leader in Tasmania he believed in the necessity for strong unions.<sup>55</sup> He entered the House of Assembly in 1906 as the Labor member for North Hobart and was speaker during the term of the Earle government 1914-1916. Early in 1917 he resigned his seat to contest the Senate. He failed and remained out of politics until 1925 when he was elected a member for Denison and became Chairman of Committees and Speaker, an office he held until 1928. He was defeated at the 1931 elections and retired from politics.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> M.D. McRae, *ibid*.

<sup>51</sup> McRae, *op cit*, p 27.

<sup>52</sup> M.Lake, Hons thesis, *op cit*, p8.

<sup>53</sup> R.P.Davis, *op cit*, p397.

<sup>54</sup> *ibid*, p400.

<sup>55</sup> M. Lake, *op cit*, p51

<sup>56</sup> F.C.Green, *A Century of Responsible Government*, Tas Govt.Printer, 1956. p294.

Lake concludes 'a general assessment of the place of the *Clipper* in the founding of the Tasmanian Labor Party is difficult'.<sup>57</sup> I contend that Paton's role in founding the *Clipper* and as a socialist candidate contesting Tasmanian elections, fostered a new Tasmanian social conscience and was 'the first direct and successful appeal to the Tasmanian working class'.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> M. Lake, op cit p56.

<sup>58</sup> ibid

## CHAPTER 3

### THE CLIPPER AND THE BOER WAR

On a wider front, the period of the Boer War - from October 1899 till June 1902 - was to see a heightening of the awareness of island, nation and Empire in Tasmania.<sup>1</sup> These years saw the war (combined with federation) uniting the colonies to assist in laying the foundations of the Commonwealth of Australia on the one hand, strengthening the bonds of the empire on the other. During these years Tasmania sent over 800 men to the Transvaal and mourned the passing of Queen Victoria. It appears that the loyalties of Hobart (and of Tasmania) in this period as expressed by politician, press, pulpit and crowd, were primarily to island and Empire. The Empire itself was an abstraction, its focus being Queen Victoria. Nor was the Empire important merely because it was great. Both the Empire and the war were asserted to be part of the "civilising mission" of the British race. Tasmanian and British patriotism usually went hand in hand. Even the *Clipper* recognised this. Criticising the newly formed Royal Society of St. George as representative of 'ultra-Hinglish' exclusiveness, it asserted that for purposes of Imperial politics, Tasmanians 'are just Britons and take our fellow colonists of every breed to our hearts, first as a Briton and afterwards as a Tasmanian - or t'other way about as it pleases you'.<sup>2</sup> Alomes notes that there were qualifications of support for the collectiveness of island, nation and Empire which might be seen as a fourth identification.<sup>3</sup> This was negative in nature and was akin to populism, though of a passive and non political kind. It should be noted that the *Clipper* exhibited many

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<sup>1</sup> S.G. Alomes, 'Island, Nation and Empire' Collective Identifications in Hobart during the Boer War. *THRAP&P*, Vol.22, No1. p9-20. March 1976.

S.G. Alomes, 'Island Nation and Empire' : Aspects of the Colonial Experience, Hobart' 1899-1902 Unpublished BA (Hons) thesis, University of Tasmania 1973.

<sup>2</sup> *Clipper* 28 April 1900.

<sup>3</sup> S.G. Alomes, *THRAP&P*, op cit, p16.

populist attitudes: xenophobia and racism (towards Chinese, Jews, Kanakas, etc.); conspiratorial theories of the causes of the Boer War (its belief was that the war was a gold war forced on Britain by Rhodes and Chamberlain<sup>4</sup>, or 'a conspiracy between German Jews and mining'); criticism of the hierarchies of the churches (Montgomery being a particular target), military forces, government, and of the Royal family. In this respect the *Clipper* was in line with other radical journals in Australia, especially the *Bulletin*.

The *Clipper's* mocking of officialdom was perhaps only partly shared by its readers. Alomes hypothesises that its anti-war policy was perhaps the cause of its decline in size from eight to six pages during the war period.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless the light hearted scepticism and cynicism and mocking of public figures would no doubt have been enjoyed by the *Clipper's* readers - the 'tall poppy' syndrome once again.

The *Clipper* was the prime organ of Tasmanian opposition to the war. It maintained a strident tone throughout the conflict, confirming that its populist criticism drew sympathy, albeit without active support. The paper sought to deflate the rhetoric of the collective greatness of island, nation and Empire. There was a heightening of awareness of Tasmania's connection both with the mainland states and the mother country within the bonds of Empire. Tasmanian achievement in the Boer War was seen by the majority of citizens as contributing to Britain's greatness.<sup>6</sup> The *Clipper* mocked Tasmania's ascendance 'from a microbe to a defender of the empire'.<sup>7</sup> It marked Britain as 'a bully or wolf attacking a lamb, and capitalism was war, permanent war'.<sup>8</sup> Britain was a nation that 'politically has slipped into the hands of exorable demagogues ... militarily she is served by mercenaries commanded by officers as a rule of mediocre education'.<sup>9</sup> The *Clipper's* belief was that the war was

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<sup>4</sup> *Clipper* 8 July 1899.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid* and Footnote 69. Circulation figures pertaining to the paper's circulation are unobtainable to confirm this.

<sup>6</sup> S.G.Alomes, Hons Thesis, *op cit*, p43.

<sup>7</sup> *Clipper* 8 July 1899.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>9</sup> *Clipper* 7 July 1900.

'absurd'<sup>10</sup> - a conclusion based on the obsessive notion that a ring of German - Jewish financiers in London was behind the whole affair.<sup>11</sup> The *Clipper* also opposed the war on Christian grounds; the war being not Christian 'for it was not in accord with the teaching of Jesus to fight a war, let alone an aggressive war'.<sup>12</sup> Particular criticism was reserved for what it called the 'jingoism' surrounding the war, and the running of the war as well: there was, it often predicted, 'a coming slump in jingoism'.<sup>13</sup> In the *Clipper's* view jingoism was 'just as catching as the influenza, typhoid, small pox and measles';<sup>14</sup> jingoists being those who believe 'the Empire is in danger and may be saved by howling "Gorsave Sons of the Seas, and bad Kiplingese"'.<sup>15</sup> The *Clipper's* view was 'that the best treatment for the disease was to allow the disease to run its course; but reduce the diet and give no stronger stimulants than a cup of weak tea or a wineglass full of shandy-gaff per day. Nurses must absolutely prohibit the patient from reading the *Clipper* or any other decently strong war rag. It makes them mad'.<sup>16</sup> That Britain needed Tasmania's help was seen as evidence of the vices of jingoism, selfishness and class distinction ('the war office in Britain being incompetent as it was full of the scions of effete aristocracy')<sup>17</sup>, and as evidence of 'the hollowness of Empire'.<sup>18</sup> The *Clipper* mocked the newly forming Tasmanian army of '15th Come Closers, West Coast Pinchers and the Southern Pushfoots'.<sup>19</sup> It saw the farewell for the first contingent not in popular terms but those of social division. Whilst the *Clipper* had some sympathy with ordinary soldiers it queried their motives, claiming 'the Tasmanians went forth light heartedly.... although the Empire was never a whit endangered. These young fellows with ardent blood and an itch for adventure do not pause to read history, and form clear personal

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<sup>10</sup> *Clipper* 21 October 1899.

<sup>11</sup> *Clipper* 18 November 1899.

<sup>12</sup> *Clipper* 25 August 1900.

<sup>13</sup> *Clipper* 7 April 1900.

<sup>14</sup> *Clipper* 27 January 1900.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid*

<sup>16</sup> *ibid*

<sup>17</sup> *Clipper* 21 October 1899.

<sup>18</sup> *Clipper* 14 October 1899.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid*

opinions, when promise of adventure offers'.<sup>20</sup>

The *Clipper* was Tasmania's only persistent critic of the war and there was no organised opposition movement. In 1901 pro-Boerism and talk of its repression became prevalent. Hobart shopkeepers began to talk of boycotting the *Clipper*. Municipal councils considered dismissing any pro-Boer employees. What came to be known as 'the Holman Incident' brought the atmosphere to a new pitch of feeling. W.A. Holman (a NSW MLA and an ardent socialist) came to Hobart to address a public meeting on the subject 'Labor and Militarism'. During his address, uproar developed, and Holman and Paton (the meeting chairman) were assaulted by sailors and local citizens. The *Clipper* argued 'it was a blot on 'Hobart's ancient and honourable traditions as an orderly city' that free speech had been denied by 'Jumping Jingoos' and the whole affair was a 'revival of the gag in Van Dieman's Land'.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore the *Clipper* blamed the whole affair on the *Mercury* and *Tasmanian News* which it accused of conspiring against the good order of the colony, following reports in the *Mercury* a few days earlier in which Holman was promised 'a warm reception....one that he was not likely to forget in a hurry if he came to Hobart'.<sup>22</sup> Both the *Tasmanian News* and the *Mercury* expressed satisfaction at Holman's fate (this despite later *Mercury* comments of regret). The *Tasmanian News* observed that had Holman been left to his assailants a little longer he would have been 'a fit subject for the hospital'.<sup>23</sup> It laid the blame for the events on Holman, stating 'he had only himself to thank for it'.<sup>24</sup> After the 'Holman Incident' the *Clipper* spent some time fighting suggestions of boycotts and press censorship. In the end there were no boycotts nor any diminution of the *Clipper's* strident criticism of the war, which continued to its end in 1902 with the paper still proclaiming 'Botha is a better man than Roberts and Kitchener is no equal to DeWett. If the jingo doubts this most damnable admission let him consider what would be the fate of

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<sup>20</sup> *Clipper* 10 September 1901.

<sup>21</sup> *Clipper* 27 January 1900.

<sup>22</sup> cited in *Clipper* 27 January 1900

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *ibid*



the British in South Africa if they had not had the advantage of numbers'.<sup>25</sup> Clearly, it wasn't the time for Holman, promoted by Paton and the *Clipper*, to come to Tasmania to further the socialist cause. Paton, the sole Democratic League candidate withdrew his nomination for election to the state legislature, the League deciding the jingoistic present was not the 'opportune time to make a democratic advance'.<sup>26</sup>

The Boer War intensified consciousness of Britain. Tasmanian and British patriotism usually went hand in hand as Tasmanians served the Empire. The governor, Viscount Gormanston, expressed the dualism of Tasmanian affections and aspirations when he exhorted the Bushmen 'to acquit themselves in a manner at once creditable to this loyal colony and worthy of the best traditions of the British army'.<sup>27</sup> The *Clipper* continually wrote articles running contrary to this sentiment. It assailed the British aristocracy, the royal family and British colonial rule as represented by the Tasmanian governor of the day, Lord Gormanston. On the announcement of Gormanston's impending return to Britain at the end of his term the *Clipper* noted that he was 'a parasite that never would be missed',<sup>28</sup> and later, that Tasmania's ex governor was 'not a very popular governor. A very devout adherent to one church [RC] and on religious subjects his outlook was narrow and uncharitable in quite a mediaeval way. Gormy has no money to speak off - was merely an impoverished Irish peer; and his absolute inability to lavishly entertain gained for him an injurious reputation for stinginess which was unwarranted.... like most old men of his rank he carried his faults conspicuously'.<sup>29</sup> It would appear that Paton would have better appreciated a less devout more affluent personage.

The *Clipper* was overjoyed with the lack of response to the Royal visit of the Duke and Duchess of York in 1901. The state spent thousands of pounds on the visit, children were brought to Hobart, and a holiday

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<sup>25</sup> *Clipper* 15 February 1902.

<sup>26</sup> *Clipper* 3 March 1900.

<sup>27</sup> *Mercury* 6 May 1900.

<sup>28</sup> *Clipper* 18 May 1899.

<sup>29</sup> *Clipper* 11 August 1900.

declared. Even Wapping was 'tarted up' for the occasion <sup>30</sup>. The *Clipper* satirised the whole affair in a 'seditious pome', 'Great Expectations':

'Oh have you heard the new found tongue in which the Hobart folks do talk,

Its all the same from old and young, just Princess May and Duke of York.

We've dreams of wondrous elevations, on which our feet will shortly walk,

Of knighthoods, 'Lady', presentations, to Princess May and Duke of York.' <sup>31</sup>

The *Clipper* asked 'why monkey away on a poppy show'<sup>32</sup> and 'why not send a pair of mules....and a slang dictionary'.<sup>33</sup> Why also 'allow the number of rogues to increase by more than 50 to 1 .... ladies pockets may be easily picked in crowded trams, buses and cabs, but the silly fashion of carrying the purse in the hand makes the job ever so much more safe for the snatcher'.<sup>34</sup> During the visit, the *Clipper* commented 'for the people of a free democracy there is a galling nameless insult in the use of a typical British aristocrat ; and in the splendour of that gaze Hobart snobs have grovelled happily all week'.<sup>35</sup> At the conclusion of this visit the *Clipper* wrote:

Dear Juke,

You have spent a day or two in Hobart, and you are about to leave us. Well we were glad to see you when you came; and we do not weep over your departure. You are doubtless a very pleasant and agreeable little man; but otherwise you have not impressed us. We have simply no illusions at all as to the value and place of royalty'.<sup>36</sup>

One can only speculate on the extent of agreement with the *Clipper* and

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<sup>30</sup> Wapping History Group, 'Down Wapping', Blubberhead Press, Hobart, 1988. p131.

<sup>31</sup> *Clipper* 29 June 1901.

<sup>32</sup> *Clipper* 11 May 1901.

<sup>33</sup> *Clipper* 29 June 1901.

<sup>34</sup> *Clipper* 22 June 1901.

<sup>35</sup> *Clipper* 6 July 1901.

<sup>36</sup> *Clipper* 21 July 1901.

its never ending barbs concerning the visit. It could be suggested that the *Clipper* was reflecting the Hobartians' response to the death of Queen Victoria. The news of the Queen's death reached Hobart on the morning of Regatta Day, a favourite holiday. The regatta went on, marred only by the absence of bands, salutes and toasts at the official reception. 'The Australians are a young people and their youth will impel them to dodge the official mourning' and as the *Clipper* pointed out 'Hobart's grief was qualified by sunshine and pleasure'.<sup>37</sup>

The principal identification in Tasmanian life during the war was with the local polity and the Empire. The *Clipper* expressed an independent Tasmanian view and in its columns participated in public life, expressing an enthusiastic 'larrikin's' view rarely seen at any other time in Australian history.

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<sup>37</sup> *Clipper* 26 January 1901.

## CHAPTER 4

### SOCIAL ISSUES

#### HEALTH

The press was a particularly powerful weapon in drawing attention to poor sanitary conditions prevailing in Hobart in the 1890's. The *Clipper* was at the forefront of concentrated attacks on the Hobart Corporation, commenting that the crux of Hobart's sanitary problem was that 'cleanliness means extra cost, dirtiness is cheap'.<sup>1</sup> Even a moderate such as J.B.Walker in his diary in 1896 was led to comment 'Hobart wants much in the way of sanitary reform. Though much has been done, since the day in which open cesspools were not unknown in backyards, and, the street gutters were fetid, stagnant and weed grown, there remains yet much to do. The house drains still run into the open street gutters in too many places; the creek is a bad open sewer....all this is bad, and wants mending, and the Municipal Council show themselves very sluggish and procrastinating in action. But not a little of the outcry about insanitary conditions is about smells....'<sup>2</sup>

In this respect in an editorial entitled 'Smells', the *Clipper* noted: 'Only a trifling difference.

Trinity Hill soliloquy: "The evening smells".

Hobart Rivulet: "Those Hobart smells".

The great unwashed: owing to the absence of baths in the houses of Hobartians they rank as the rankest crowd in Australia. The street Arabs in the cities of the mainland glory in a wash. In Hobart they don't get a

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<sup>1</sup> quoted in Wapping History Group, 'Down Wapping', Blubberhead Press, Hobart, 1988. p71.

<sup>2</sup> P.B.Walker (ed), *Prelude to Federation (1884-1898)*, OBM, Hobart, 1976. p134.

chance, as although there is water everywhere, there are no free baths'. 'Cleanliness is next to godliness'. Tasmanians do not thrust after either attribute'.<sup>3</sup>

The *Clipper* provided a very sustained critique of the political and social inequalities perpetuated by the dominance of property in the City Council made possible by the limited franchise and plural voting.<sup>4</sup> A particular target was Mayor Davies ('Bumbles'), proprietor of the *Mercury*. Every time the council failed to adopt a progressive line of action the *Clipper* blamed plural voting.<sup>5</sup> In 1895 it explained that 'alderman is another name for property holder or landlord'.<sup>6</sup> Nor were the church and Bishop Montgomery spared, the *Clipper* claiming that 'the Bishop knows a lot about Melanesian missionaries but little or nothing about Tasmanian living conditions or poor'.<sup>7</sup> He also claimed that 'plural voters generally reside in healthy localities and being well fed and clothed and not overworked, their risk of disease is reduced to a minimum; workers lived in unhealthy localities and being underfed, underpaid and run down....feed the typhoid scourge and crowd the hospitals'.<sup>8</sup> Deaths from typhoid in the 1890's remained at a high level.

Year	Deaths	Rate (per 100000)
1891	57	168
1893	9	216
1895	21	58
1897	31	78
1900	7	20

(Reference: S.Petrow, '*Sanitorium of the South*', Table 17, p177)

<sup>3</sup> *Clipper* 26 January 1895.

<sup>4</sup> *Clipper* 6 March 1895.

<sup>5</sup> S.Petrow, '*Sanitorium of the South*', THRA, Hobart. 1995. p113. See Table 12 for scale of voting in Hobart Municipal elections.

<sup>6</sup> *Clipper* 21 September 1895, 9 November 1895, 3 July 1897.

<sup>7</sup> *Clipper* 23 December 1893.

<sup>8</sup> *Clipper* 10 September 1898, 5 December 1896.

Epidemics persisted as part of the normal course of life and death in Tasmania. Tillett noted that in Hobart 'typhoid is inevitable in every dry season. A dirty ditch runs through the centre of the town'.<sup>9</sup> Tillett blamed poor health conditions on a apathetic council. Apart from typhoid, measles, influenza and diarrhoea were all scourges in the late nineteenth century. In 1899 nearly 2400 cases of infectious disease were notified.<sup>10</sup> The *Clipper* painted a bleak picture, claiming that if a man became sick, could not work and therefore pay rent for the hovel his family had to inhabit, they were evicted and forced to find shelter in worse housing with other luckless families.<sup>11</sup> Despite such attacks, property owners remained obdurate in the 1890's and no real improvement was made in the condition of housing. Whenever aldermen debated the issue, they were trapped in a dilemma between safeguarding the health of Hobart and considering the impact demolition would have on the owners of insanitary housing. Before 1900 the Corporation normally placed the interests of landlords ahead of those of health and the reputation of the city.

Despite the pressure exerted by those seeking sanitary and municipal reform, it was not until 1900 that some headway was made. In 1900 the *Clipper* directed its attack specifically against George Davies, eventually forcing a Select Committee to investigate Hobart City Corporation activities. The *Clipper* underlined the seriousness of the report by alleging that due to 'the gross maladministration the water supply had reached a critically bad state'.<sup>12</sup> It continually pushed the argument believing the paper had performed its duty 'with impartiality and skill: the reforms were urgently required'.<sup>13</sup> The *Clipper* claimed that Hobart was 'one of the most heavily taxed cities in Australia and its public utilities are the very worst'.<sup>14</sup> Of all the health reformers the *Clipper* was the most

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<sup>9</sup> *Clipper* 3 September 1898.

<sup>10</sup> L.L.Robson, 'A History of Tasmania', Volume 2, OUP, Melbourne, 1991 p244.

<sup>11</sup> *Clipper* 21 September 1895.

<sup>12</sup> *Clipper* 10 November 1900

<sup>13</sup> *Clipper* 17 August 1901.

<sup>14</sup> *Clipper* 23 November 1901.

critical, calling the city 'insanitary Slobart'<sup>15</sup>. It might be argued that the muckraking style of the *Clipper* led it to exaggerate inequalities endured by the lower classes and painted too black a picture of landlords. However, studies of the incidence of disease and the council's expenditure indicated that the *Clipper's* claim was right; Hobart was unhealthy and rates should have been adequate, but were not used effectively.<sup>16</sup> In the *Clipper's* view too:

'....in all sanitary matters the Government of Tasmania is an ass.

....in all sanitary matters the Government of Tasmania does the wrong thing with absolute enthusiasm.

....the government is windgalled and blind, with several diseased joints and the plague.'<sup>17</sup>

'To expose half the frauds that are perpetuated on the people of Tasmania with or without the connivance of politicians and leading citizens the *Clipper* would require to be published at twice the size and twice daily including Sunday, especially Sundays'.<sup>18</sup> Dr. Crowther, a doctor, then a politician, advised 'as a physician the plague conditions can be overcome with rest'. 'Does he know that poverty cannot afford rest'.<sup>19</sup>

In its fight against, and its efforts to, uplift the low sanitary and living standards of Tasmanians, one of the *Clipper's* greatest problems was not only the perpetuation of the class inequalities by the rich, but the apathy of the people themselves. Bolger expresses the view 'one of the problems was that the colonial low class standard of living was generally higher than that in the memories of those people who had been British paupers. [Conditions] brought more ease than English or Irish conditions of housing, eating or working. There was more to spare from pittances for beer or tobacco, more to spend on meat....and more to set by for an easier old age'.<sup>20</sup> 'Such conditions encouraged people to sinking into an accepting, apathetic inefficiency with scarcely a spark of self respect,

<sup>15</sup> *Clipper* 25 January 1896.

<sup>16</sup> S.Petrow, op cit, p125.

<sup>17</sup> *Clipper* 27 October 1900.

<sup>18</sup> *Clipper* 16 October 1897.

<sup>19</sup> *Clipper* 13 July 1895.

<sup>20</sup> P Bolger, *Hobart Town*, ANU Press, Canberra. 1973. p99.

not yet enough dissatisfaction to produce demands for change'. For many who were condemned to a life time of dire poverty and exploitation, their horizons were strictly limited. Sections of the radical press, like the *Clipper* made it their business to stress the fact that with a redress of social ills such as health, it was possible to raise the expectations of the less fortunate in society. Highlighting the *Clipper's* socialist approach, Paton points out 'when George [Davies] was mayor he told an unemployed deputation that 'the fittest must survive and that the weak must go to the wall.' As socialists propose to help the weak to resist the greedy crowd which forces them to the wall, it isn't to be expected that George's paper is going to upset his past doctrine'.<sup>21</sup> In Hobart, civic pride or civic consciousness was lacking before 1900 : the Corporation too concerned with the narrow interests of property owners, was an inert body, devoid of public confidence.<sup>22</sup> 'Most of our people would rather take the risk than agitate and compel the doing of effective work, so if the plague comes to Hobart and asks for victims, it is likely to get its capacious greed satisfied'.<sup>23</sup>

The *Clipper* with its attacks on the Hobart Council during the 1890's led the way to recommendations being made for reform which were slowly accepted by about 1914,<sup>24</sup> (the first commission being held in 1901). In 1903 the City Surveyor listed 'all the dilapidated and unsightly buildings within the city'.<sup>25</sup> Many buildings were 'very old being built on bare ground and having no ventilation to the floors and consequently very damp'.<sup>26</sup> Between January 1904 and February 1905 forty houses were condemned. Dr. J.S.C. Elkington came to Tasmania in 1903 and in a short career here ceaselessly pushed the government for health reforms, and slowly centralisation of health services was effected.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, health reforms in Tasmania were slow, indicative of the early resistance

<sup>21</sup> *Clipper* 26 February 1898.

<sup>22</sup> S. Petrow, op cit, p193.

<sup>23</sup> *Clipper* 24 March 1900

<sup>24</sup> L.L.Robson, op cit, p 243.

<sup>25</sup> S.Petrow, 'Hovels in Hobart: The Quality of Working Class Housing 1880-1942', *THRAPP*, Vol. 39, 1992. p166.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid*

<sup>27</sup> M.Roe, 'Nine Australian Progressives : Vitalism in Bourgeois Thought 1890 - 1960' UQP, Brisbane, 1984 p98.



to discussions experienced by the *Clipper* in this field. Was the *Clipper* correct in its assertions that poor housing and low health standards, indicators of poverty, was a cause of low immigration into Tasmania? Certainly, despite the highest birth rate in Australia (1910 figures) at 18.74 per 1000, the mean annual rate of increase in Tasmania's population in the first years of the twentieth century was only 0.65.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> L.L.Robson, op cit p249.

## EDUCATION

At the turn of the century Hobart's educational needs were met by eight State primary schools, a number of Catholic schools, three industrial schools and four private schools (three of which had been opened since 1887), a university (opened in 1891) and a technical college. <sup>1</sup> At the end of 1885 the Education Act was passed, but the basic system altered little. Education was still not free, secular and compulsory, but cheap, Christian and compulsory. <sup>2</sup> 'No recognition was accorded to the Catholic's desire for payment by results, nor could they bring up their children according to the tenets and teachings of their church in the all important matter of education.'<sup>3</sup> Weekly payment by parents of State school pupils was 9d to 6d a week according to the number sent from each family. There were distressing examples of poor teaching and the perennial problem of non attendance was one of poverty in association with economic necessity. Schools and their facilities were poor. There was an annual enrolment of 23000 at the state schools, an average attendance of 17000 and 3000 children of school age did not attend at all.<sup>4</sup>

During this period the *Clipper* from time to time drew its readers' attention to this parlous state of Tasmanian education, claiming the system was 'shameful and pandered to a degraded denominationalism filling the statistical registers with the sign of the cross in the form of John Smith his X mark'.<sup>5</sup> The *Clipper* continually raised the question, 'Is it free?'<sup>6</sup> Figures derived by the *Clipper* for 1898 showed the

<sup>1</sup> Census of Tasmania 31/3/1901 cited in *Tasmanian Almanac*, Hobart, 1902. p211-213.

<sup>2</sup> L. Robson, 'A History of Tasmania' Volume 2, OUP, Melbourne, 1991. p144.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> L. Robson, *A Short History of Tasmania*, OUP, Melbourne, 1985. p93.

<sup>5</sup> *Clipper* 19 February 1898.

<sup>6</sup> *Clipper* 1 September 1900

following:

	%population enrolled at state schools
NSW	17.21
Victoria	17.74
Tasmania	9.65

	Average % attendance
NSW	11.04
Victoria	11.73
Tasmania	7.04

	% enrolled in private schools
NSW	4.19
Victoria	3.93
Tasmania	5.12

Highlighting these differences in Tasmanian education<sup>7</sup>, the *Clipper* claimed 'the politics of a country can be gauged by the interest it takes in education'<sup>8</sup>, and pointed out that in comparison to the more progressive Australian colonies, Tasmanian spending on education was low; NSW paying 12/6 per head, Victoria 9/5 per head, Tasmania 4/11 per head.<sup>9</sup> It was no accident that the best educated colonies paid the biggest wages and were politically active in the formation of good government. 'Our system is rotten - the teachers are not to be blamed'.<sup>10</sup>

It is noteworthy that these figures and thoughts so accurately predicted the findings made by W.L.Neale in 1904 after his appointment to investigate and improve Tasmanian state school education.<sup>11</sup> The *Clipper* pushed for this reform and the introduction of New Education to overcome the problem that 'few Tasmanians believed education was important and that poverty and conservatism were the most influential

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<sup>7</sup> *ibid*

<sup>8</sup> *Clipper* 9 February 1897.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid*

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*

<sup>11</sup> W.L.Neale, 'Report on the System of Primary Education in Tasmania 1904', *JPPP* 1904, Paper 49.

forces in society'.<sup>12</sup> Generally the *Clipper's* promotion of educational causes and the need for reform were repudiated. Like Neale, the *Clipper* found that active reformation of the system was not well received nor would it prove to be a simple matter.

The *Clipper's* educational platform followed the lines of genuinely free primary education to all (although opposing separate Catholic schools), and promoting the value of secondary and tertiary education. With respect to the University of Tasmania, whilst undoubtedly seeing the value of educating men of letters, the *Clipper* believed that 'the Tasmanian University suffers from a suspicion that it is run in the interests of the wealthy',<sup>13</sup> and was 'sufficiently underfunded as to be no of benefit to all but a few'.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> cited in D.V.Selth, 'The effect of Poverty on the development of Tasmanian State Education 1900 - 1950. Unpublished M A thesis, University of Tasmania, 1969. p10

<sup>13</sup> *Clipper* 9 August 1902.

<sup>14</sup> *Clipper* 27 July 1895.

## THE CLIPPER AND WOMEN'S ISSUES

The *Clipper's* attitude to the role of women in society particularly in its earlier years is obvious. The first issue of 8 April 1893 led one to believe that in future editions discussions on women's issues would be a feature of the paper. The original edition indicated: '....Women have been one of the great questions of the day, and now that they are a recognised division of the race, that they read and write, think and speak, and cultivate original opinions, this will be the case. We do not propose to keep merely a journal of the changes in feminine apparel, nor to chronicle the newest ways of brewing table ale, but these things being among others, of interest to women will find their place'.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the editor is expressing a rather denigrating attitude in his published comment that lists women readers as a captive audience because of 'the ladies' delight in its quaintness and clackery'.<sup>2</sup>

An interesting sentiment, but there was no immediate follow up. Indeed not long afterwards when deploring the habits of street women, listed among the rights of man were:

'No man shall be left at home to mind the baby against his will.

All men shall have their buttons sewn on.

Every man shall get as drunk as he pleases'.<sup>3</sup>

Women's activities seemed ignored in a man's world and indeed the word women could as Marilyn Lake often claims have been 'a small entry located in traditional histories in the index between 'wombats and

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<sup>1</sup> *Clipper* 8 April 1893.

<sup>2</sup> *Clipper* 8 February 1896.

<sup>3</sup> *Clipper* 15 July 1893.

wool'.<sup>4</sup> Women lived separate lives and their activities were largely ignored in the *Clipper*. Apart from a few social notes the only things that concerned women were advertisements for household necessities, clothing, and selected medical products. On the other hand, men's interests in sport, politics, literature were well catered for. If 'socialism was the desire to be mates, the living together in harmony'<sup>5</sup>, then the *Clipper* was a 'matey' paper. If women were given recognition it seems only in the negative reporting of activities like prostitution, which in itself was degrading, and probably printed for masculine titillation rather than to increase feminine awareness. When portrayed women were more often represented as 'vain, snobbish, conservative - scheming to trap men into wedlock'.<sup>6</sup>

From 1896 to 1899 the *Clipper* ran the 'Women's Scrap Book' which among other items offered to publish women's letters (although few were forthcoming), printed stories of women succeeding, elsewhere, called for support for deserted wives and children and criticised a clergyman for beginning a sermon 'My dear Brothers', when 80% of his congregation were women.<sup>7</sup> Yet for all the lack of publicity women were active. The *Clipper* came to life on women's issues in March 1896. Great excitement with the announcement: 'the women who organised the grand political meeting held at the Mechanics Institute may lay credit to having built up a line or two for the pages of history. To bring together a couple of hundred of women together with their male friends to agitate for the enfranchisement of women lifted the Women's Temperance Union off their ordinary platform of 'Down with the cursed drink traffic', and it is to the credit of all concerned with the movement that they were able to rise to the occasion, and keep closely to the broader question. The *Clipper* is going to go 'bald headed' for the ladies and their enfranchisement. What splendid allies they will be in wiping out the

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<sup>4</sup> M.Lake, address given at Salamanca Writers Festival, Hobart, March 1996

<sup>5</sup> cited in M.Lake, 'The Politics of Respectability. identifying the masculinist contest'. *Historical studies*, Vol.22, No86, April 1986. p121.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid*, p119.

<sup>7</sup> *Clipper* 20 May 1893; A.Alexander, 'The Public Role of Women 1803 - 1914'. unpublished PhD thesis, University of Tasmania. 1989. p221.

'House of Mumbles'.<sup>8</sup> It seems that Paton had not appreciated that this trend was not wholly democratic for it was aimed at giving the vote to higher class women of established families only.<sup>9</sup>

Little, if anything, was heard again in Paton's time. Strangely even the 'fallen women' were largely ignored, despite odd reports on 'street walkers', those 'embryo Flossies of all sorts and conditions, giddy girls with an eye to an innocent flirt, unmindful that street strolling isn't conducive to morality and the sweets of domesticity. Knowing the weakness, the wickedness and the folly of the sex, the cigarette chewers and crook stick suckers likewise take their stand'.<sup>10</sup> Though there was at times sympathy for the young prostitute as a victim, there seemed to be no public advocacy of the civil rights of women working as prostitutes. How did working class people perceive prostitution and women who worked as prostitutes? The *Clipper* provides no real answers.<sup>11</sup> It did stress that their situation was not necessarily their fault, but essentially the paper's attitude was middle class.<sup>12</sup> Clearly the *Clipper* represented a man's world in which there was little, if any, women's representation. In fact, it seems to have made no further recognition of the role of women until Woods' realisation that at the 1903 federal election women had not been forthright in voting at the polls. As a result of this realisation, Woods then aimed to convert women, having learnt the lesson of the important role to be played by women in politics. Roe comments it appeared as if Paton had some notion of the case for bridging the gender divide, but lacked the resource and determination to do so.<sup>13</sup>

The *Clipper* contained some descriptions of women at work, listing occupations that included factory work, and domestic employment as the

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<sup>8</sup> *Clipper* 28 March 1896.

<sup>9</sup> T.Newman, *Hare Clark in Tasmania*, Joint Library Committee of the Parliament of Tasmania, Hobart, 1992 p40.

<sup>10</sup> *Clipper* 9 August 1902.

<sup>11</sup> K.Daniels (ed), '*So Much Hard Work*', Fontana/Collins, Sydney, 1984. p79 poses the similar question.

<sup>12</sup> *Clipper* 11 July 1896.

<sup>13</sup> M.Roe, pers comm. June 1996.

main outlets for women forced to support themselves. A survey of industries by the *Clipper* in 1894 mentioned women among the 30 employees of a woollen mill. Men earned £2/10/- a week and girls from £1/5/- to £1/16/-, approximately 60% of the men's wage.<sup>14</sup> A preserving factory employed up to 100 hands of both sexes; this was seasonal work and 'gives relief to many at times when useful work is needed'.<sup>15</sup> In 1895 the *Clipper* also praised conditions in the IXL jam factory where women and girls enjoyed 'every comfort' including a room where they could eat lunch.<sup>16</sup> (This is in contrast to later comments about this factory in 1906 where it was stated girls had to eat lunch outside on the wharves in all weathers).<sup>17</sup> Factory or shop work was preferred to service by many girls because of the shorter, specified hours and the freedom girls enjoyed outside these hours.<sup>18</sup> Girls themselves liked factory work; though conditions could be poor, they were often no worse than those experienced at home, or by men, and superior to those experienced by live-in servants who were always there to be called on and where there was no limit to the hours of work.<sup>19</sup> The position of servant was seen as degrading: they were looked down on, were treated with no respect. Accommodation was poor. They often had to buy their own uniforms.<sup>20</sup> The way to marriage could be difficult as often no male visitors were allowed.<sup>21</sup> Women themselves seemed to acquiesce in this low opinion of their importance; wages were often, though not invariably, low and conditions poor. Women's activity, (despite some calls, albeit few, from the *Clipper* to better their conditions) was minimal, with little or no involvement in trade unions and little protest.<sup>22</sup> There was no suggestion of equal pay or conditions for women, despite claims from the *Clipper* that 'ladies must be measured by the same

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<sup>14</sup> *Clipper* 26 May 1894.

<sup>15</sup> *Clipper* 14 September 1895.

<sup>16</sup> *Clipper* 19 January 1895.

<sup>17</sup> *Clipper* 14 July 1906, see also, A Alexander, op cit, p135.

<sup>18</sup> *Clipper* 19 September 1896; *Clipper*, 4 July 1896.

<sup>19</sup> A. Alexander, op cit, p87.

<sup>20</sup> *Clipper* 19 September 1896.

<sup>21</sup> *Clipper* 19 September 1896.

<sup>22</sup> A. Alexander, op cit, p133.



standard as men'<sup>23</sup> Tasmania did not produce anything to approach the feminist activity present in other colonies or New Zealand. <sup>24</sup> Despite its socialist views and promotion, the *Clipper* remained rather silent on these issues and there were few pressures on Tasmanian women of the sort which produced action by women in Britain or America.<sup>25</sup> This was despite the fact that some 57% of society were classified as dependents,<sup>26</sup> this large group embracing wives, children to the age of 15, and old people. It included most women whose openings for employment were limited. Generally it was thought fitting to delegate women to the kitchen, or to bringing up children. Apart from women from the more affluent families 'many were condemned to a lifetime of dire poverty and exploitation'.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> *Clipper* 8 April 1893; *Clipper* 24 February 1894.

<sup>24</sup> A. Alexander, op cit, p1d.

<sup>25</sup> For a more complete synopsis, see A. Alexander, op cit, passim

<sup>26</sup> W.A. Townsley, '*Tasmania : From Colony to Statehood 1803-1945*'. St Davids Park Publishing, Hobart, 1991. p226.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*

## THE ETHICS AND IMPLICATIONS OF ADVERTISING

Any newspaper needs revenue and will seek to attract advertising to fulfil this need. It is informative to assess the range and frequency of various categories of goods and services advertised in the *Clipper* during its formative years. What did advertisers need to sell and what did readers need to buy? A good deal of information about the practical living conditions of working class Hobart in the 1890's can be gained from reading the ads.

In his Manifesto for an Independent Press,<sup>1</sup> Paton notes that his paper has recently been deprived of advertising revenue by a parliamentary bill giving an advertising monopoly to 'papers with less than half its [the *Clipper*'s] circulation'. He blames this on his socialist platform and what he calls a 'combined effort to crush' and 'boycott' the paper. 'It is only by advertisements that a paper can pay in Tasmania, therefore encourage advertisers in the *Clipper* so that their paper may flourish'.<sup>2</sup>

In times of depression, the most easily sold commodities are always concerned with food, clothing, medicine and the provision and maintenance of shelter. Paton took care also to include market reports listing stock, produce, fruit and hides sales, and there were numerous advertisements too for eating houses and hotels. The cult of the cycle was evident with the advertising emphasis on sales and servicing. The *Clipper* of 16 January 1897 carried advertisements for seven cycle firms; February 6 of the same year had a large front page column devoted to the list of services provided by A.M.Campbell and Company of Liverpool Street, 'Cycle Engineers and Importers'. Both bourgeois and proletarian radicals embraced cycling enthusiastically: it was affordable, venturesome, and for the first time gave women a small measure of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Clipper* 22 September 1894.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

mobility and freedom offered by this seemingly acceptable method of propulsion. It provided a shared experience on an equal basis with men, and women found the clothing quite liberating.

'Cheap Boots. Cheap Boots', says the advertisement for the Jersey Boot Palace on the same front page, and immediately below it Pikes of Liverpool Street claim 'we are opening a lot of cheap lines for Christmas and New Year'. Mens' tweed trousers for 3/11. Or a better pair for 7/6. Or a much better pair for 12/6 - take your pick from Brownell Brothers in the spring of 1897. A boy's sailor suit in serge at 2/6, braces for 6d.<sup>3</sup> There were fewer advertisements for women's or girl's clothing. Presumably the poor still made do with a lot of homemade attire or 'hand me downs' from charitable organisations.

Doctors did not advertise their services but the purveyors of patent medicines most certainly did. The *Clipper* was crowded with promises of relief from a widely ranging list of maladies easily corrected by the purchase of such sovereign remedies as Dr. Williams Pink Pills for Pale People for severe rheumatic pain, Rhubarb Pills posted free to any part of Australia or the Australian colonies, Eucalyptus Oil or Sassafras Tonic.<sup>4</sup> But perhaps the most revealing sections are devoted to Woman's Salvation and Lost Manhood. Prof. R.R.Hermann, French Specialist, of Melbourne, offered advice on both problems. 'The Wife's welfare within her control' would 'teach you more about prevention in ten minutes than all the years you've lived'.<sup>5</sup> (If this information failed one could try Oriental Female Pills). A cure was offered for the problems caused by 'youthful folly, excesses or any other cause' for 'unfortunate sufferers to whom love is but a hideous, tormenting dream, life a torture, the future a blank'.<sup>6</sup> Infallible remedies? It is interesting to note that Woods and Paton conducted a side business called 'The Infallible Remedy Company'. The only reference located regarding actual remedies was an application for a patent in 1901 for 'an improved

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<sup>3</sup> *Clipper* 11 September 1897.

<sup>4</sup> *Clipper* 22 September 1894.

<sup>5</sup> *Clipper* 8 February 1896.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid*

method of removing marine growth from ship's hulls while still afloat'<sup>7</sup> - nothing at all to do with contraception, abortion or erection.

Why were patent medicines so popular? For two reasons: first, that they were widely advertised and readily available and secondly, because the working class, with its inherent fear of authority, saw professional medicos as a threatening and judgmental interference in their daily lives. Home remedies were widely practised, relying for their efficacy on the fact that any patent medicine sufficiently 'laced' with alcohol or opiates must have at least a temporary ameliorating affect. And after all everyone knew that your last illness was the fatal one, and time was a great healer. Also the development of 'heroic' medicine placed people at a great disadvantage. Some of the treatments were considered by doctors as justifiable even if invasive. Ordinary people still feared anaesthetics, hospitalisation and surgery, and were prepared to try the gentler alternative medicines. Doctors were seen as part of the establishment and Paton noted that Crowther's assessment of proper treatment for typhoid was totally inappropriate for working class people.<sup>8</sup>

Advertisements were important enough to be front page features and then to occur on most other pages of each edition of the *Clipper*. They were included not only to gain revenue for the paper but also to provide information important for a class of people mindful of the small economies necessary for survival in a time of depressed economy.

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<sup>7</sup> M.Lake, Hons thesis, op cit, p5.

<sup>8</sup> *Clipper* 13 July 1895.

## RACISM

The *Clipper*, radical in its views, was a strong purveyor of racial antagonisms. It railed against foreigners, propounding its racial theories, and in extreme terms showing its distaste for the 'lascivious Kanaka' and the 'leprous Chows'.<sup>1</sup> At the time there was a general interest in foreign races engendered by recent exploratory ventures, the expansion of empires and interest in theories about various races and their origins (social Darwinism). Interest in the world was reflected in descriptions of exotic places and customs featured in adventure and travel series run in many magazines and newspapers. The *Clipper* saw the immigration of foreign workers as a real threat to Australian labour and indicative of the exploitation of Australian workers by employers looking for cheap labour. Racism was 'the most important single component of Australian nationalism'.<sup>2</sup> Citing the Chinese Paton said, 'For the sake of his industry and cheap labour he has excused even his abominable lechery, and his female debauchees were only so many victims to a very utilitarian Moloch'.<sup>3</sup> This radical rejection of the establishment's values also extended to the Empire which the *Clipper* noted already consisted of 'five niggers for every white'.<sup>4</sup> Backing one of the first laws passed in 1901, restricting Asian immigration (the White Australia policy), the *Clipper* was a strong supporter of the new dictation test (the Natal test) which had been introduced to prevent the immigration of Asian workers.<sup>5 6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Clipper* 9 March 1901.

<sup>2</sup> H. McQueen, 'New Britannia', Penguin, Melbourne, 1970. p42

<sup>3</sup> *Clipper* 12 October 1901.

<sup>4</sup> *Clipper* 14 July 1900.

<sup>5</sup> *Clipper* 14 December 1901.

<sup>6</sup> This test was borrowed from Natal in South Africa. A Commonwealth official choosing any European language could dictate aloud sentences totalling no more than 50 words and ask the would be migrant to write down the words. Failure meant no entry

Similar responses were made to the visit of a Japanese fleet to Hobart in 1902 as recognition of the Anglo Japanese Alliance which had just been signed.<sup>7</sup> The *Clipper* was puzzled by Hobartian's response to the visit and was prompted to ask 'why do women hanker after a coloured man?'<sup>8</sup> The Japanese visit making 'the girls quite Jappy'.<sup>9</sup> Linkages via alliances and treaties and immigration were seen as a potential for making the Australian race a hybrid one; observing that : 'from the very rude times of the earliest civilization , men have sought to keep their family blood pure .... A great national crime is this falling away from racial ideals'.<sup>10</sup>

Alomes claims Tasmania's race relations had generally been placid<sup>11</sup> (but the bias remained just as strong as in other states). With a small and relatively unchanging population, Tasmania was cut off from the religious and racial clashes of the Australian continent, although Tasmanians were conscious of ethnic groups, such as the German community at Bismark (now Collinsvale) and the Chinese in the mining areas of N E Tasmania and the West Coast. Commenting on the latter, 'the fatherland is going strong for the West Coast. Scarcely has one Teutonic expert left when two or more others heave in sight.....'<sup>12</sup> Tasmania's ethnic policy, like that on mainland Australia, was sometimes expressed with arrogance and contempt for other races.<sup>13</sup> The *Clipper's* foment of these issues seemed to follow its socialist contact with the *Bulletin* and other labour concerns. When a 'White Australia' immigration policy was debated in the new Federal parliament, the conservatism of the Tasmanian members on racial questions became apparent.<sup>14</sup> For once the paper seemed in line with the majority, in denigrating people of 'alien' origins. It seemed most

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<sup>7</sup> *Clipper* 17 May 1902.

<sup>8</sup> *Clipper* 24 May 1901.

<sup>9</sup> *Clipper* 17 May 1902.

<sup>10</sup> *Clipper* 9 August 1901.

<sup>11</sup> S.G.Alomes, 'Island, Nation and Empire: Aspects of the Colonial Experience, Hobart, 1899-1902'. Unpublished BA (Hons) thesis, University of Tasmania. 1973. p63.

<sup>12</sup> *Clipper* 22 July 1899.

<sup>13</sup> M. Lake, 'A Divided Society : Tasmania during World War 1 ' MUP, Melbourne, 1975. p190.

<sup>14</sup> *Clipper* 21 December 1900.

Tasmanians if faced with a threat to their social life or to their economic situation, would exhibit racial propensities. This markedly illustrates Davis' observation, when discussing the origins of the Tasmanian Labor Party, 'though Tasmanian Labor was backward in many respects it yielded to none in the fervour of its hatred for the Oriental. On this subject the west coast miners and city leaguers were absolutely at one'.<sup>15</sup> 'White Australia served as a rallying point to unify Labor'.<sup>16</sup> The White Australia policy was to remain in force till the 1960's. Nevertheless, the *Clipper's* racism was at times qualified. It attacked slavery in America and forced labour in South Africa.<sup>17</sup>

The *Clipper* found distasteful the hanging of two murderers, Aborigines Jacky Underwood and Jimmy Governor, who were caught by police after a long chase through New South Wales. 'The Britisher had ravaged and despoiled their race. The remnants of which had been 'piebalded and their blood poisoned with the vilest disease'.<sup>18</sup> 'There are 6891 Aborigines in New South Wales still gazing on the passing show and triumph of the white man. Since 1882 the full bloods have decreased at the rate of some 200 per annum from 6540 to 3230 while the half castes have increased by about 80% from 2379 to 3661'.<sup>19</sup> In a paper largely devoted to Tasmanian issues this is one of the few references to Australian Aborigines.

In 1893 the *Clipper* started a history entitled: 'Aborigines of Van Dieman's Land'. This was abstracted from the reports of a committee appointed by Governor Arthur to ascertain the cause of enmity of the Aborigines towards the white people and to suggest the best mode of removing them from the island. The overall impression given by the *Clipper* was that it was easier in Tasmania without an Aboriginal problem, although conceding there was a lot of inhumanity in the

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<sup>15</sup> R P. Davis in D.J. Murphy (ed), '*Labor in politics*': *the state of Labor Parties in Australia 1880 - 1920*. UQP, Brisbane, 1975. p 402

<sup>16</sup> H. McQueen, op cit, p53.

<sup>17</sup> *Clipper* 6 April 1901, *Clipper* 2 November 1901.

<sup>18</sup> *Clipper* 6 October 1900.

<sup>19</sup> *Clipper* 19 September 1899.

colonial treatment of the indigenes.<sup>20</sup> Tillett in his review of Tasmania's history emphasised the British 'executioners' had left 'a history of murder, robbery and barbarous cruelty'.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *Clipper* 16 September 1893.

<sup>21</sup> *Clipper* 3 September 1898.



## SPORT AND THE CLIPPER

Alomes postulates that the cultural confidence of the 1890's mirrored and supported a new social and political sense of Australian identity.<sup>1</sup> Sport brought a sense of shared Australianess. This was particularly evident through the establishment of Australian Rules football and through the new Test cricket matches against England. Adulation of sporting 'heroes' suggests how sport took a major role in establishing a national identity and provided a vital common topic in public debate. The *Clipper* reflects this development, and reports on sport occupied a significant proportion of the newspaper. No doubt too the heavy emphasis on sport sold newspapers. Nevertheless, as Bolger indicates sport was class conscious<sup>2</sup>: the *Clipper* made few reports of 'society' sports - yachting, tennis, hunting. Popular sports however were catered for and provided interesting reading. By our 1990's standards, the reports were very 'chatty', often dealing more with social activities and personalities, than the results themselves.

Racing was extensively reported. Details of both Australian and Tasmanian meetings which were held at a large number of venues, (Hobart (2), Launceston, Deloraine, Longford, Midlands, New Norfolk, Campania, Brighton, to name a few) were provided. 'Racy' comments predominated. A typical example of a racing report is:

'Never before in the annals of Tasmanian racing has such a gigantic triumph been recorded as that put up by the now well known suburban institution, the Hobart Turf Club, at their meeting on Saturday last. The most sanguine member or supporter of the club could not for one moment even anticipate the grand success that was achieved....some 2000 people lined the enclosure and a glance at the 'get up' of the majority revealed the fact that prosperity reigned....the totalisator return

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<sup>1</sup> S.G.Alomes, *A Nation At Last*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney. 1988 p16

<sup>2</sup> P Bolger, *Hobart Town*, ANU Press, Canberra. 1973. p183.

showed an aggregate of £3617. The obliging John Palmer was as active as ever at the scales, and although there were one or two close finishes, the judge, Mr Geo.Piesse, gave his decisions promptly. By the way, a gentleman who holds a high civic position in Hobart openly disputed the judge's decision in the Highweight Handicap, but as all you can expect from a pig is a grunt, lovers of fair play rather pitied than blamed him'.<sup>3</sup> Racing was an important social event with more emphasis given to crowd reaction and social intercourse than to the actual form of the horses. People liked to read the sports reports as social notes, rather than for specific information about results.

Cricket too had a large following. Tasmania had one Test player, C.J.Eady. Matches here, interstate and overseas were well reported. Eady's and Tasmania's fortunes were well noted. In 1896, 'most of Sydney's scribes are favourable to Eady as a bowler, but as a batsman they say he lacks finish, which in my opinion is fair comment'.<sup>4</sup> In 1902, 'C.J.Eady played the fifth Test for Australia. He did fairly well with the ball in the first innings but failed lamentably with the bat in both innings and consequently he was left out of the Australian team. '<sup>5</sup> Cricket then also had its 'chuckers' for 'C.B.Fry, the crack university cricketer has thrice been no balled for throwing by umpire Phillips'.<sup>6</sup>

There was no doubt Tasmanians shared the general Australian fondness for sport to such an extent that 'some wiseacres (shook) their heads at the time and money spent in mere amusement and sport'.<sup>7</sup> Hobart had over thirty sports clubs, most sports increasing in popularity, except for Australian Rules football which declined due to 'rough play' and 'veiled professionalism'.<sup>8</sup> 'Football Flashes' in the *Clipper* reported weekly on matches. A typical report reads:

'Sherin was following and that's about all we can say of him, as he followed the ball but seldom touched it. Foster should give way to a

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<sup>3</sup> *Clipper* 24 February 1900.

<sup>4</sup> *Clipper* 21 March 1896.

<sup>5</sup> *Clipper* 8 March 1902.

<sup>6</sup> *Clipper* 2 July 1898.

<sup>7</sup> *Cyclopaedia of Tasmania* 1900, Hobart, 1900. p268.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*

better exponent of the game. Billy Abott only played fairly well. He needs to be in better company to show his worth as a footballer. Ab Palfreyman kicked off splendidly against the wind'.<sup>9</sup> Unlike contemporary football reporting the emphasis was on individual performance, with players consistently named and discussed and value judgments made not only on sporting ability but on attitudes to the game. It seemed participation was more important than actual winning. Match results were of minor significance.

Boxing was popular. The 1890's saw an increase in cycling for pleasure with the introduction of the safety cycle; Tasmanians also showed a penchant for walking. Strangely, woodchopping, a particularly identifiable Tasmanian sport, was not reported.

For much of this period the sports culture in Australia was not far apart from the work culture. Attitudes fostered by the *Clipper* to daily work and to weekend sport were alike. 'In both arenas, the typical Australian prized determination, stamina, courage and the will to succeed and relished competition and the incentives that are part of that competition'.<sup>10</sup> Women did attend big sporting occasions but played a small role as players.<sup>11</sup> The rather masculine culture, with a high proportion of single men in the population, also favoured sport.<sup>12</sup> The *Clipper* played upon and promoted the mania for spectator sport - 'Australia probably became the first country in the world to give a high emphasis to spectator sports'.<sup>13</sup> Unity and togetherness, essential for the Labor platform, were promoted and developed.

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<sup>9</sup> *Clipper* 20 July 1895.

<sup>10</sup> G Blainey, 'A Shorter History of Australia', Reed Books, Melbourne, 1995. p117

<sup>11</sup> A.Alexander, 'The Public Role of women 1803-1945', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Tasmania, 1989. p277.

<sup>12</sup> G.Blainey, op cit, p116.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid*, p109.

## CONCLUSION

Was the *Clipper* an influential newspaper?

'An effective Labor movement required at least one newspaper as a vehicle for propaganda'.<sup>1</sup> It was not until a libel action in 1902 forced James Paton to abandon his editorship and give way to Woods that the *Clipper* was turned into 'a really effective instrument in the hands of a pledged Labor party'.<sup>2</sup>

In his time as editor, Paton was able to motivate people in power to change their stance on a number of issues which included improving the sanitary conditions in Hobart, the removal of the plurality of voting for Hobart Corporation elections, and improvements to the electoral rolls. The *Clipper* predicated Neale's review of the Tasmanian education system and his subsequent introduction of the New Education.<sup>3</sup> Wages and working conditions were frequently featured, contributing evidence to a Royal Commission in 1907.

Townsley notes that Hobart newspapers at the time were 'bitterly opposed to each other on most political issues'.<sup>4</sup> Paton's intention was to vehemently oppose the conservatism he saw in the papers. His ideas on progress and the role of the Legislative Council in retarding political progress were reinforced and amplified later by Woods.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> R.P.Davis in D.J.Murphy (ed), *Labor in Politics' : the State of Labor Parties in Australia 1880-1920*. UQP, Brisbane, 1975. p395.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> W.L.Neale, 'Report on the System of Primary Education in Tasmania 1904'. *JPPP* 1904 , Paper 49.

<sup>4</sup> W.A.Townsley, *Tasmania : From Colony to Statehood 1803-1945*. St. Davids Park Publishing, Hobart, 1991. p219.

<sup>5</sup> M.L.Lake, *op cit*, *passim*.

Apathy was another factor that Paton saw as inhibiting the growth of a better Tasmanian lifestyle. He felt that it was time to shake off various aspects of the past, including what he saw as senseless reverence for all things English, including the Boer War, and begin to fight for a better way of life for ordinary people in a rather extraordinary environment.

Could this seemingly modest weekly publication have had a significant impact on the social and political consciousness of its readers? Paton's hope of making that consciousness integral to everyday working class being raises the paper to a level different from what might have been expected in a small provincial city, isolated from the mainstream of political thought in a time of change, but only change of a 'local' nature. The *Clipper* gained its acceptance as a paper because of its vernacular and popular (even populist) style of expression, creating interest in a relatively easily comprehended manner. Readers appreciated its wit, enjoyed the snide remarks about 'elders and betters', and were introduced to political concepts in a way that appealed to their immediate sense of involvement.

Paton lived true to his ideals of honesty, consistency and earnestness when he preached in the *Clipper* for a better society. He did this by publishing 'a bright little paper' noted for its 'infinite jest and humour',<sup>6</sup> widely read and appreciated for these reasons if none other. The *Clipper* could well have used the motto adopted by the Australian Democrats: 'Let's keep the bastards honest'. The social conscience expressed in this motto does not differ greatly from that espoused by the *Clipper* ninety years ago.

Lake admits that a general assessment of the place of the *Clipper* in the founding of the Tasmanian Labor Party is difficult. <sup>7</sup> I believe Paton's role in founding the *Clipper*, promoting socialist concepts and being a Labor candidate contesting Tasmanian elections, fostered a new Tasmanian social conscience and made the first direct social and political appeal to

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<sup>6</sup> *Cyclopaedia of Tasmania*, 1900. Hobart, 1900. p293.

<sup>7</sup> M. Lake, op cit, p56.

the Tasmanian working class. One should ask: What would have happened if the *Clipper* had not been published at this time?

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